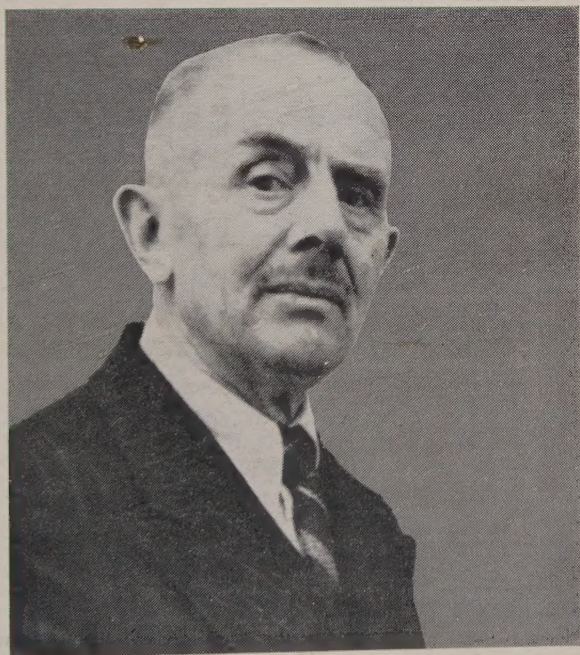


ellowship



WILHELM MENSCHING

Pastor



ff We launch a new publishing year with a major article that takes, Janis-like, both a backward and a forward look. In *What Really Happened in Korea?* A. J. Muste manages to disintegrate with his incisive thinking the myths of "collective security" and "police action" that were invoked in connection with the Korean War. . . . Don Irish (see *Teachers As Evangelists*) found himself so in disagreement with an earlier FELLOWSHIP article that he has challenged it with a fine argument of his own. . . . Mr. Hassler shifts from editor to writer again. Although *Letter to a Lady* was not written with publication in mind, we feel that his defense of the honor of UNESCO is worthy of a wide audience. . . . This issue also lays out the literary carpet for Wilhelm Mensching, of Freundschaftsheim and the German pacifist movement. He arrives in this country this month to speak for the American Friends Service Committee. His *Arms and the Christian* is reprinted from *Reconciliation*.

FELLOWSHIP

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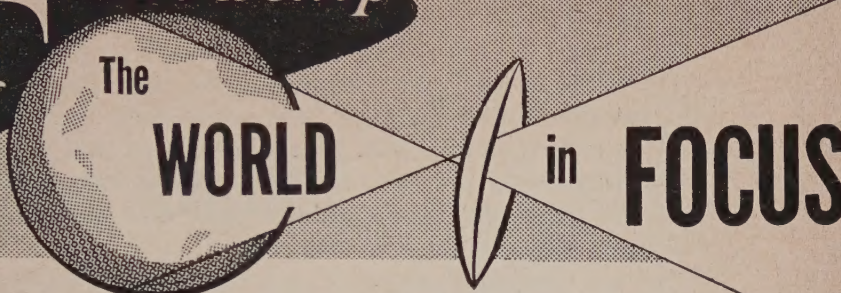
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The
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■ JANUARY 1954

New Year

It is a time of confusion, this new year. We sit writing these words a few days before Christmas. Across the street little silver bells tied with scarlet ribbon hang in the window of an apartment; a mile above them the blue sky is split by the vapor trail of an unseen jet. Tinny carolling comes faintly from a music store up the street, its volume still further reduced by the faraway mourning of an air-raid siren that is being tested, or that has developed a short-circuit, or that is the first ominous bay of the pack announcing that the jet is hostile and that it carries a hydrogen bomb.

It is a time of confusion. Men of good will hold back from civil defense efforts out of conviction that they are more conditioning than defense, but cringe just a little when the swift flight of a jet coincides with a short circuit on a siren. It is a time when the short circuits seem to be everywhere, and those who would like to pour their energies into work for peace find every channel closed.

It is a time for memory, for getting back to the recollection that flowers must begin with seeds, and that the seeds will grow in the spring, no matter how inclement the winter or insignificant the appearance of the seeds themselves.

January, 1954

Val Peterson, Administrator of Federal Civil Defense, added his bit to the general confusion the other day. Declaring that the United States is "not adequately prepared to meet an atomic attack," Mr. Peterson warned that it would not be adequately prepared until its citizens had faced the facts and overcome "six attitudes" that now stand in the way of an effective civil defense.

The "six attitudes," as reported by the *New York Times*, included a "universal human tendency" to put things off, a hope that there will not be atomic war, a "psychological block" that transforms this hope into a conviction, and a few other things. Our own interest was engaged by Attitudes Four and Five. The first of these is the belief of "many . . . that with the H-bomb and other weapons an attack would be so devastating that we could not do anything about it." "To be completely candid," observed the completely candid Administrator, "there is some truth behind this attitude."

Reinforcing this candor in commenting on the next "attitude," which Mr. Peterson defined as an ill-founded faith that the Air Force could intercept any attacking bombers, the civil defense boss remarked: "If we had an all-out attack against us, we might lose the downtown areas of most of our cities—it might mean only 3 percent of our territory, but perhaps 65,000,000 casualties if we had no warning."

And in Detroit, a few days later, one of Mr. Peterson's aides warned the local CD officers that their evacuation plans, based on the assumption of a 45-minute warning, were unrealistic. "From zero to fifteen minutes" is the maximum on which they can count, he warned, to which the local commander responded gloomily, "What can you do in fifteen minutes?"

It's a good question.

The shooting has stopped but the question still persists—

What Really Happened in



by A. J. Muste

KOREA?

NOW THAT a truce is in effect in Korea and the tortuous negotiations about a peace conference are under way, the question as to just what we have witnessed in Korea since June 25, 1950, remains a subject about which liberals in and out of the churches, hold markedly different views. Since the course that individuals and groups follow in the period ahead will to a considerable extent be determined by their interpretation of what has happened so far, this is an appropriate moment to review the situation.

In 1950 the majority of liberals accepted the State Department's position that the U.S.—United Nations action in Korea was the first instance of "international police action against aggression." Most

admitted that it was not a perfect case; some qualifications were necessary. The United States had taken decisive action before the U.N. called for force to stop aggression. The U.S. acted unilaterally, though as part of its action with respect to Korea, in undertaking to patrol Formosan waters and increase military aid to the French in Indo-China and to the Philippines—in other words, to strengthen its power position in Asia. Increasingly, as the frightful struggle unfolded, people were distressed over the enormous cost of this police action and its similarity in outward appearance and physical results to war of the most brutal and devastating kind.

Thoughtful exponents of the "police action" interpretation ad-

mitted that Korea fell short of the ideal or normal in still another respect. Normally police action takes place where there is a settled government, known laws enacted by duly constituted legislative bodies, and so on. Admittedly, no world government exists; there is not even a body of agreed-upon international law to apply in such a situation. All such considerations, however, were—and still are—held to be outweighed by the fact that a large number of nations acting through a world organization, the U.N., joined in condemning an act of aggression and—though here the showing proved distressingly small—contributed forces to stop the aggressor.

Now, the case continues, the aggressor has been stopped. A precedent of immeasurable significance and hope has been established. True, it has all been elementary, partaking of the character of improvisation, crude, horrible in its effects and costs. But realistic minds do not expect things to run smoothly and according to some pattern laid up in heaven. They know that beginnings are always confused, hard and crude. But they prize these beginnings all the more, and a beginning of “international, global, police action” is what our eyes have beheld. Let us now move on from this spot, muddy and bloody as it may be, to firmer and higher ground.

A Fallacious Interpretation

I regard this as a fallacious and dangerous interpretation that disregards the reality of the present situation in Korea and East Asia generally.

In June, 1950, the Security Council, from which Russia was

conveniently absent, described its objective as “to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area.” The armed attack was met and, in the sense that there is now no fighting going on, it has been stopped. “Repel” is, however, probably too strong a word for what has so far happened. The enemy is admittedly still very strong—not in the state of a gangster who has been “subdued” by the police—and capable of renewing battle if he should desire, as in certain contingencies he would.

Basic Objectives Unattained

Though it is now played down, the U.N. also sought the unification of Korea under a democratic regime, as expressed in the General Assembly resolution of October 7, 1950, for the “reunification” of Korea. No such reunification of Korea has been accomplished, nor is it in sight. Thus the two basic political objectives, pacification of Korea and surrounding regions and reunification of Korea under a democratic regime, are totally unattained.

Here the reader may interpose that I must be a crypto-Communist or incredibly naïve if I do not realize that if the United States had not taken drastic action in Korea in that fateful June, the Communists would have taken control. This would have augmented the strength of the Communist bloc appreciably. It probably would have been the signal for an attack on Formosa by Communist China. The fight of Ho Chi Minh against the French in Indo-China would have been stepped up, at least as soon as Formosa had been taken over, and so on.

This I readily admit. In terms of the global power struggle against Russia and the Communist bloc the United States "had" to act as it did in Korea or accept a (perhaps temporary) retreat there in order to dig in elsewhere for purposes of "containment." Early in 1950 U.S. spokesmen, as a matter of fact, had indicated that it was not feasible to hold Korea if this required any appreciable military commitment and that the U.S. defense line included the peripheral islands, such as Japan, Okinawa, the Philippines, perhaps Formosa, but not the Asiatic mainland. That this was the case is sometimes taken as evidence that the U.S. was unselfishly motivated to come to the aid of a victim nation that had fallen among thieves.

Phase in Global Struggle

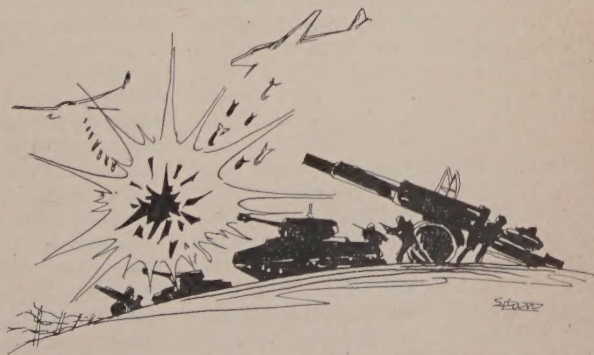
I do not question that many individual Americans were so motivated. But the more convincing explanation is that given by U.S. spokesmen, *viz.*, that such a flagrant challenge to U.S. defense interests could not be permitted to pass without risk of greater evil than would be involved in a probably small war—or "police action"—in Korea. From this standpoint the Korean War is a phase in the global struggle between the U.S. and the Communist blocs. They have had the kind of opportunity to feel each other out on a limited terrain which both

military and political leaders value in such circumstances. What is the outcome?

Outcome Is Stalemate

The lessons have been learned mainly at the expense of the Korean people. The outcome is temporary stalemate in East Asia. Russia could not assure victory to North Korea and China without committing large air forces. This might have left it dangerously weak elsewhere, and it is surely not being unduly cynical to assume that the U.S. somehow would have taken advantage of this situation. Moreover, large-scale air attacks south of the battlefield in Korea would have meant U.S. retaliation against the indispensable Chinese industrial base in Manchuria.

The United States is no less willing to call it quits in Korea, at least for the time being. In this sense the North Koreans and Chinese "fought the U.S. to a standstill," a fact that would not be lost upon the masses of Asia even if Communist propaganda did not make the most of it. The U.S.



"international, global police action"

found the war, a small one as wars go these days, very costly. It involved stretching the defense line too thin. Furthermore, it could not achieve victory without running the risk of enlarging the war—perhaps to global proportions—and even the closest allies of the U.S. were bitterly opposed to such extension.

Communist China, therefore, has demonstrated that with aid from Russia it can carry on modern war. The regime is probably more firmly entrenched than before the Korean War. Its troops and their commanders have acquired valuable experience. Some of the closest U.S. allies favor its admission into the U.N. A Communist China means that, in spite of the “police action” in Korea to repel the aggressor or the war to “contain Communism,” whichever way one chooses to put it, the East continues in danger of going Communist. Under the circumstances, the non-Communist nations in the Asiatic Far East, except for U.S.-dependent Formosa, are desperately anxious to keep out of involvement on either side in the power struggle. Certainly they do not want to be drawn into the American orbit, which, to them, spells Western dominance, and colonialism.

Not Convinced

Furthermore, Korea has not convinced these Asian peoples that if they come into the democratic camp they will have nothing to fear from Communist aggression. The lesson is that U.S. intervention on behalf of a nation probably will result in a frightful war on that nation's soil, with no assurance that even so the nation will

be liberated and unified. Moreover, far from giving assurance that “in case of aggression the world community will come to the rescue of the victim state,” the Korea episode is “ending” with the United States determined to scale down its commitments and abandon the idea that it can send troops to prevent or repel aggression anywhere in the world, *even if its own power interests are in some degree involved.*

Price of Intervention

If these nations will do their own fighting, the United States will give aid, as in Indo-China today where it is actually trying to keep the French from making a truce such as the U.S. has accepted in Korea! But as Professor Robert T. Oliver of Pennsylvania State College recently pointed out, the U.S. cannot promise sufficient help to prevent Communist infiltration and border attacks from China. This pressure could be removed only by an attack on the Russian stronghold, but this would bring on the atomic war which it is the prime purpose of the U.N. to avoid and which the U.S. is at this time not prepared to launch or even accept if it can possibly be avoided. The Malenkov regime in Russia almost certainly is also bent on cutting down its military commitments for the time being and to avoidance of all-out war.

In Europe, the reluctance of peoples and governments to go along with U.S. rearmament plans bewilders and irks American policy molders and great sections of the American people. But they, too, have learned the “lesson” of Korea. They do not want the experience of being “liberated.”

Professor George Catlin, English philosopher and political scientist, recently called attention to General Omar Bradley's statement that air attack on the homeland of Russia or America by means of "the big, long haul planes coming across the icecap" would be difficult, but that in case of war the U.S. "could strike at the vitals of Communist power" from "bases in the territories of our allies." Upon which Dr. Catlin comments:

"That was a catastrophic remark when heard by Parisians and Londoners who, it seems, are to man the front for a policy settled elsewhere. They won't do it. They will see America to hell first. It is doubtful if the NATO agreement is worth the paper it is written on."

All this adds up to an outlook for 1954 that may be summarized as follows:

It has become clear that neither the United States nor Russia can continue to carry on the Korean war and the cold war generally with the intensity that has characterized these struggles, without encountering economic and social problems of great complexity. Both big powers have had satellite or ally trouble. The people in both "wanted a change:" more consumer goods, lower taxes and such.

Meanwhile, the U.S. has made

progress with the H-bomb, and, in all probability, Russia also has successfully entered this field. This raises new possibilities of destruction, and both military and political policy makers need time to develop and produce the new weapons and to size up the strategic and tactical changes these

weapons dictate or make feasible.

These and other such developments explain the relaxation in world tension, the feeling that another world war is not so imminent as it seemed a while back, and that this is a period when other means than war are likely to be used by nations in the pursuit of their interests.



"Liberation"—1953

The truce in Korea may be regarded as the symbol of this change.

Below the surface, however, nothing is essentially changed. Communism has neither been stopped nor "contained." If Korea has shown that the Communist bloc cannot conquer one country after another openly and at will, it has also demonstrated limitations upon American ability to maintain or strengthen its power position or to "repel aggression," whichever formula one may prefer. The world remains in revolutionary ferment. The atomic arms race proceeds with furious intensity.

We may see symbols of this second characteristic of the present

period—the fact that “truce” does not mean “peace,” that “relaxation of tension” means turning to other means of struggle, not the resolution of conflict—in the dragging out of the truce and POW controversies in Korea. The fact that in November, Winston Churchill muted his demand for a top-level conference of the Big Four and that the Big Three have concluded that Malenkov is not ready to capitulate or to make appreciable concessions is further proof and symbol of this condition.

The world is still left, then, with the unhappy choice between the two Leviathan states and between the Communist and the “American” system or way of life. The underlying tension between the two is tremendous, the weapons of all sorts in their hands, appalling, and—to quote the incisive Dr. Catlin a second time—“never in history has a state of tension as immense as the present one been solved save by war.”

An Outlet in Hysteria

If for a time the tension does not find an outlet in war, it is still hard for peoples to bear, and they will seek relief from it. The relief will be in hysteria of some kind, as the new crop of McCarthyite “exposures” of Communist infiltration—in which the Eisenhower Administration now openly joins—suggests. And this, in turn, means that the masses will accept, if not welcome, permanent militarization, more rigid controls, a situation approaching “the garrison state” as preparation for war or as a possible alternative to war. (What is certain is that democracy cannot flourish in a state of siege.) To use Dr. Catlin for the third and

last time: “Assuredly, the world is rapidly reaching a technological and psychological state where the masses will prefer Caesar or Tsar to atomic war. This will be a fatal day for democracy. . . . But it will be human.”

This analysis has proceeded on the assumption that post-1950 Korean events can best be understood as a phase of the global power conflict. I can understand those who accept this thesis and on the whole approve of the Truman-Acheson-Dulles handling of the situation on the grounds that, whatever mistakes were made, we could not let the Communists get away with the plan to take over Korea.

“Police Action” Theory

As a pacifist Christian I cannot accept the means employed, and on other grounds also the case does not seem to me to be conclusively proved. Nevertheless, a case can be made for the policy on the grounds of national interest and the necessity of containing communism by armed force. But then it also follows that we are still faced with the prospect of power struggle and all-out war, *unless* we find a political, economic and spiritual alternative to our present program.

But what of the “police action” theory? The October, 1953, Conference on World Order of the National Council of Churches revealed a significant shift on the part of those who embraced this theory in 1950. I sat in for a couple of days on the discussions of a Section on Collective Security that dealt with Korea. Not once during the many hours I was present was the term “police action” used. The debate was carried on the one side by those who described Korea as a

case of "collective defense" under the provision of the U.N. charter that recognizes that there is no present "collective security" under the U.N. and, therefore, falls back on the right of "self-defense," singly or by regional groups. The other side argued that these joint "self-defense" actions did constitute "collective security" of a new kind or a real step toward the desired "collective security."

What U.N. Is, and Is Not

This is progress toward a realistic view of the situation; though on the part of some there is still a considerable amount of whistling to keep up one's courage about the role of the U.N. in the field of the power struggle. (I do not question its value in other fields.) The fact is that the U.N. was not intended by its creators as an instrument to keep the peace, by force if necessary, between the big powers. It was founded on the premise of big power unanimity, as the veto in the Security Council, on which the U.S. was as insistent as the U.S.S.R., testifies. The gimmick for taking a case of "aggression" to the Assembly is only an illusory way of by-passing the Security Council and—what is more important—the realities of the situation. There simply is no such thing as "collective security" measures or "police action" to enforce peace upon sovereign, armed and powerful modern States. The attempt to do it means war, as Korea conclusively demonstrated.

It is often said that if the U.N. had not intervened in Korea, it would have broken up, and this would have been a calamity. It seems to me the answer is that the U.N. would have broken up at that

point if the United States had walked out, as Russia had a few months before. It is possible, though not certain, that this would have meant that general war would have broken out. This would most assuredly have been a calamity. But if this had happened, it would have been not because something which the U.N. might have done was omitted, but because Russia and the United States were ready for a show-down.

I do not believe either of them was ready for this in June, 1950, or the intervening months. Almost certainly the United States would not have walked out of the U.N., which is its world organization, as the Communist bloc and the Communist movement is Russia's world organization. The fact that Russia soon came back into the United Nations and that we now have truce and stalemate registers these basic facts in the realm of power and national interest. The continued existence of the U.N. likewise registers these facts, registers the fact that in a power-world "peace" depends upon the will of those who have power. The U.N. did not create the facts or as a U.N. save or "police" the peace or furnish a demonstration of a radically new kind of "collective security" not built on military force and alliances.

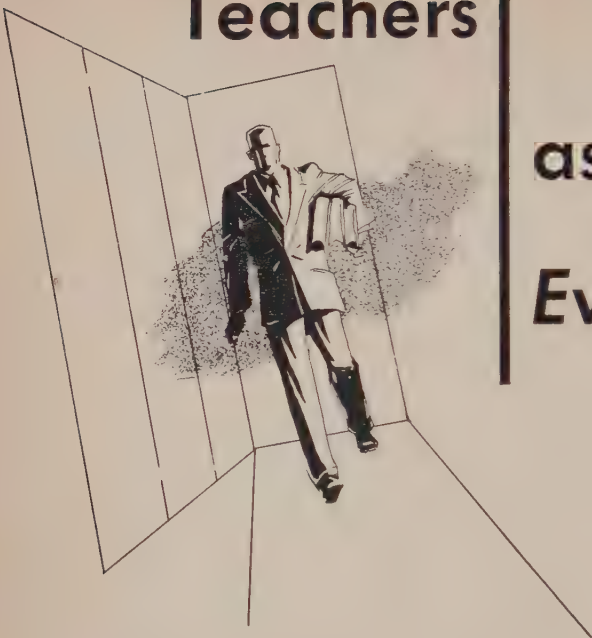
To say these things should not be regarded as proof of unfriendliness to the United Nations. Rather, if we do not understand what the U.N. is and is not, what are the basic realities of our time and the problems that grow out of them, all the hopes placed in the United Nations today will end in new barbarisms, as all the hopes placed in the League of Nations ended with World War II.

Teachers

as

Evangelists

by Don Irish



In this article a fellow-professor challenges the thesis, expressed by Cecil Hinshaw in "Pacifism on the Campus" (Sept. issue, p. 12), that a teacher can legitimately promote, both in the classroom and out, a particular -ism. He finds Mr. Hinshaw guilty of the very ideological imperialism that he (Hinshaw) condemns. We have given Mr. Hinshaw the opportunity to answer this charge and to clarify his views.

A COMBINATION of several personal factors—charm, breadth of knowledge, depth of insight, and efficacy of communication methods—may enable a teacher to be not only a *good* instructor but also an influential individual on the campus and in his community. Most

of us who are teachers would probably very much like to be such a person.

However, the essence of Dr. Hinshaw's proposals injects an added contention: a teacher should espouse and promote, albeit subtly and circumspectly, a specific "ism" in and out of the college classroom. He avers that the teacher who is a pacifist should advance the cause of pacifism in his classroom role. It would seem to follow properly, then, that the one who is a "militarist" should promote militarism through his strategic position in the school system—perhaps recruit his students for the armed forces (at least those who are about to flunk out anyway!). The prohibitionist, communist, Fascist, super-patriot, and vegetarian teachers each may

likewise then properly advance the day of their own millennium.

There are occasions when teaching about pacifism and people who were, or are pacifists is pertinent to college study. For instance, an examination of the history and politics of Southeast Asia could not properly ignore Gandhi's nonviolent movement. Psychologists may desirably take note of the theoretical and practical contributions of conscientious objectors to mental hospitals and to the mental hygiene movement during and since the second World War. Criminology may appropriately consider the effects and implications of capital punishment. A myriad of other instances could be cited. But the discussion of important, relevant and factually-presented material which happens to involve pacifism and pacifists is not advocacy of an "ism" any more than a study of the institution of war in society connotes a promotion of militarism.

Code of Ethics

It is my view that neither pacifism, nor militarism, nor any other

"ism" has a proper place in non-sectarian public education classrooms. A widely accepted "code of ethics" for college professors is the "1940 Statement of Principles" of the American Association of University Professors. One article states:

The teacher is entitled to freedom in the classroom in discussing his subject, but he should be careful not to introduce into his teaching controversial matter which has no relation to his subject.

Such a policy need not imply, however, that universities must be, or should be, bereft of ideas or controversy. The first AAUP committee on Academic Freedom and Tenure in 1915 asserted:

... An inviolable refuge from tyranny should be found in the university. It should be an intellectual experiment station, where new ideas may germinate and where their fruit, though still distasteful to the community as a whole, may be allowed to ripen, and finally, perchance, it may become



The Author

Because Don Irish is as eager to write his biography as most of us are to write our obituaries, we have few facts about him to pass on to our readers. We know he is an instructor in sociology at Western Washington College of Education in Bellingham and is currently on leave to pursue doctoral work at the University of Washington. (He already

possesses an MA in sociology and an MS in group education work!) He confesses to interests in race relations, public opinion and propaganda, and family life, the last of which he explores with a wife and three daughters.

a part of the accepted intellectual food of the nation or of the world.

Father Abelard and Bernard of Clairvaux in medieval France of the early 12th century were teachers of renown who relished intellectual combats. Professors who would publicly challenge their colleagues to debate, and students who could and would argue with their professors, perhaps have always been few in number. Abelard and Bernard were not teachers in public institutions, however; and they were not averse to "grinding axes." But the stimulating mental climates which result from such personalities and such circumstances have been preserved in some academic institutions to this day; and they make a valuable contribution to our common education.

Partial Acceptance

Perhaps such intellectual free-for-alls are much needed. Perhaps an atmosphere of reasonable and enthusiastic argumentation is what Cecil Hinshaw seeks to initiate. If so, the effect on American life would be salutary. Whether present American opinion would tolerate such a strong challenge to current pressures for conformity is debatable, but that is no reason for not trying to recapture such freedom for the intellect. However, maintaining the right of debate in the public forum is not synonymous with professorial ideological dominance in the schoolroom.

In some institutions, Hinshaw's proposals might well be accepted and professionally approved. The personalities of teachers vary; social expectations of communities differ; and the maturity and inde-

pendence of students are not in all colleges and at all academic levels the same.

Some institutions of higher learning are established to further specific ideological programs through the academic and extra-curricular programs. It is then clearly understood by the sponsors, faculty, students, and community that Catholicism, Judaism, Quakerism, military training, or some other "ism" or framework of reference is the dominant view which is to be articulated throughout the functioning of the organization. The 1925 AAUP statement recognized this situation as quite permissible:

A university or college may not impose any limitation upon the teacher's freedom in the exposition of his own subject in the classroom or in addresses and publications outside the college, except in so far as the necessity of adapting the instruction to the needs of immature students, or, in the case of institutions of a denominational or partisan character, specific stipulations in advance, fully understood and accepted by both parties, limit the scope and character of instruction.

Exploiting Trust

In our society it is considered desirable to have privately sponsored educational institutions functioning, including denominational ones, which provide fellowship for kindred spirits and which nourish philosophies felt to be important by the specific minority groups within the larger society. Even so, it may be debated whether it is desirable for sectarianism to prostitute subject matter by perverting or omitting scientific or historical

Fellowship

facts to make the curriculum fit a given ideological framework. Dr. Hinshaw does not suggest that ideology should be allowed to interfere with factual content; but some institutions do permit this as a matter of policy.

Hinshaw eschews "ideological imperialism." He opposes the exploitation of students' trust, recognizing that a teacher is "so nearly an absolute ruler in his classes." Yet it would seem that his suggestion that instructors utilize available opportunities to lead students to accept a given persuasion, namely, the "ism" held by the teacher, is doing what he condemns.

Few Pacifist Teachers

One may well recognize that some teachers indoctrinate freely; those who propagandize for traditionalism and conservatism will seldom be challenged or raise the ire of any powerful group; they can proselytize unhampered. One may grant that the number, and thus the probable influence of pacifically-minded teachers is small. Indeed, studies would indicate that the effect of *any* given teacher, or course, or year of schooling in changing attitudes has been greatly exaggerated and generally overestimated. However, many teachers do propagandize, often unwittingly (some of them the pacifically-minded!)

Since traditional opinions are so overwhelmingly dominant, why, then, not encourage, or at least allow, pacifist teachers also to indoctrinate students with this "ism"? Because one is not concerned here with mere numbers, or with pressure-group strategy, but with professional ethics. Even if it were a matter of numbers, it

would seem poor strategy for pacifists; for the dominant groups possess far more means to bombard intellects, if bombardment is to be the method. This writer is not worried about the decisions youth will make if they are given *full* facts without censorship and are supplied with the skills and techniques for using them.

Principles

The above considerations do not prevent a teacher who happens to be a pacifist from "living" his philosophy. He can fulfill his own personality needs while respecting the personalities of others.

1. "Teach it straight." Only objectively presented facts, be they in history or physics, can properly function in the search for relative truth. Teachers can constantly oppose censorship and expose propaganda. Matters of opinion should be explicitly understood to be opinion, should be relevant to the subject matter, and should be balanced with regard to all other significant views of the topic.

2. "Persons, not pawns." Good teachers enjoy students. Faculty persons may well develop friendship circles amongst students, sponsor their clubs, have them as guests in their homes and learn to know them as persons. This seems desirable, and is most satisfying. However, a conscious attempt to develop disciples may be an exploitation of the younger persons. An attempt in one's professional role to "use" students to advance a given "cause" or ideology not originally and clearly of their own choosing is not a legitimate educational procedure or function.

3. "Quality, competence, stature." Persons should be invited as visit-

ing platform lecturers because they have something significant to say, not because they speak for one's pet cause. The criteria for channeling speakers onto the educational convocation rostrum should be their effectiveness as persons and as speakers in their own field of artistic, scientific, or other humanistic endeavor, and their superior intellectual stature and competence as recognized by their colleagues. Employment should be on merit! It would be discriminatory to seek only pacifists, or to avoid pacifists also. Maneuvering speakers to "grind each assembly committeeman's axe" is not apt to promote the most authentic liberal education for students. Quite different, however, is the currently much-needed stand to maintain the open platform in all American communities.

4. "Minority of one." Each of us is a minority of one in some of

our conceptions and roles. We very often find ourselves aligned with some persons on one issue and with other persons on a different issue—that is, unless we allow ourselves to be narrowly sectarian and clanish. Many opportunities present themselves in college communities for students, faculty, and administration officials to advance the goals of liberal education by associating freely and enthusiastically to implement whatever ideas they may share. And in these matters pacifists have no monopoly on liberalism, humanitarianism, or ethical integrity.

Crusaders and evangelists for "ideas whose time has come" have always performed a vital role in the unfolding of human social life. Evangelizing and academic teaching, however, are two distinctly separate functions.

Note: All quotations from the Spring 1953 *Bulletin* of the AAUP.

Mr. Hinshaw Defends His Point of View

I AGREE that the classroom is not primarily a vehicle for espousing any cause, that a professor is first of all engaged in a search for truth as it is pertinent to his subject.

I believe, however, that a professor, even of mathematics, may properly express himself on pacifism in his classroom occasionally. I believe in the latitude that allows a teacher and his class those occasional moments of wandering from the lesson into speculation that follows where the students' interests draw it. Doubtless the day after Pearl Harbor many teachers, math and others as well, got off the subject of the lesson! And I would defend the right of the pro-

fessor to do this, even if the A. A. U. P. should say otherwise. But I did not mean that the teacher should take the initiative in developing such excursions. Nor do I feel it should be an occasion for argumentation.

My phrase, "almost daily opportunities," was not well chosen. Some courses offer many opportunities, but there are few in others, especially the sciences.

If Don Irish means that a professor ought never to express his own opinion in the classroom on a controversial subject, even when the opinion is relevant, I clearly disagree. The obligation to present other points of view fairly I ex-

plicitly recognized, but I cannot agree that a teacher ought always to be neutral in the classroom. Such neutrality is, I think, actually a fiction. A subject like history can be understood *only* in terms of a theory or interpretive scheme into which the facts are fitted. It is sometimes fairer to the class to make this explicit. All of this applies as much to a militarist as to a pacifist. Nor can I see that this conflicts in any way with the principles of the A. A. U. P.

Perhaps Don Irish is more afraid of enlisting students in a cause

than I am. That students may give an immature allegiance too easily I grant, and I have more than once sought to guide students away from too rash a decision. But the crucible of experience in cause work is also itself a maturing experience and one I covet for students. (American students have all too little of this in contrast with students in most other countries.) Students, like others, need vision to keep from perishing, and I prefer the risks of ardent advocacy of a cause to the stagnation of a safer course.

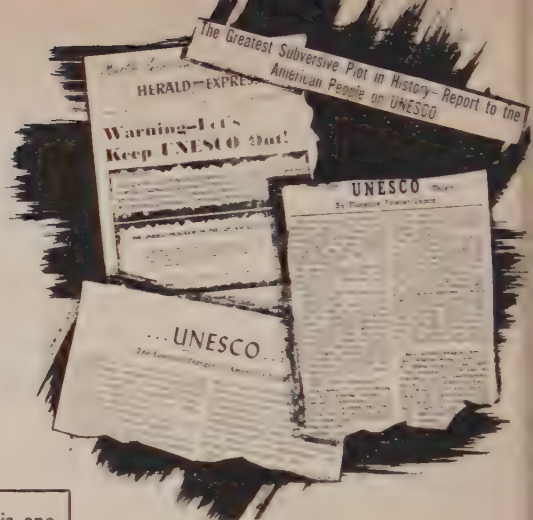
The Fate of Ideas

We are scared of communism abroad. We are scared of communism at home. We are scared of each other. We are scared of free speech. We are scared of a free press. We are scared of free thoughts. We are scared of our books. We are scared of what goes on in our classrooms, scared that someone might have an idea there. . . . Time was when an idea had some safeguards in this country. You could think something and you could say it. You could be called a crackpot, too, and you could be ignored—but you would not lose your job or your liberty.

Today there is too much feeling that thought is dangerous. We are willing to regurgitate the tried and true clichés, yes. We have the courage to utter platitudes and glittering generalities and to support motherhood and to oppose sin, especially in Afghanistan. But we have the general attitude that going beyond this might be dangerous, might make the school board look with question upon the renewal of the contract, might bring the charge of Communist, might in some way upset our own falsely comfortable little rut. And while we sit, idea-less, thought-less, sterile, the pages of history relentlessly turn, the bedrock foundations of freedom become sand, and the structures of laboriously built liberty crumble to dust.

*Dean Gordon A. Sabine,
University of Oregon*

Letter to a Lady



The lady being addressed here is one who saw fit to challenge FELLOW-SHIP's wisdom in giving courteous mention to UNESCO in its special issue on Children and World Tensions. Quite a correspondence developed between Mr. Hassler and this lady, in the course of which a bundle of fairly vicious anti-UNESCO literature was sent him for careful examination. We think our readers will be interested in Mr. Hassler's considered evaluation of this material. "The Menace in UNESCO" referred to is a published speech Miss Lyons delivered at Encinitas, California, as part of "an educational program to further maintenance of our National Sovereignty." The program was arranged by the Veterans of Foreign Wars and had the support of Spanish War and American Legion veterans as well.

Dear _____:

Thank you for your recent letter and for the material enclosed on the subject of UNESCO. I have taken the time to read most of it rather carefully. I hope you will permit me to take a comparable

amount of time and space to comment on it. For the sake of brevity, I shall concentrate on the pamphlet, *The Menace in UNESCO*, by Florence Fowler Lyons, which appears to summarize the arguments against the organization and its work.

Miss Lyons is a skillful artisan in the use of techniques of propaganda that have become widespread in these past few years. They are techniques that can be used by anyone who is determined to put across a point of view and who has no scruples about manhandling the truth. They are techniques whose use I deplore when they are used by the Communists—which they are—as I deplore them when they are used by Miss Lyons and others who are vocally and insistently anti-Communists. Basically, they are founded on the use of the half-truth: selecting quotations out of context; naming half-a-dozen people out of a commission of 100 and labeling the

hundred with the political ideas of the half-dozen; equating words that are similar but not synonymous and drawing dire significance out of this falsified equation, and so on. Let me be specific at a number of points:

"Alger Hiss probably had more to do with the creation of that (UN) Charter than any other single individual." (p. 5) Alger Hiss was a participant in the sessions that drew up the UN Charter. He had an important post in the U.S. delegation. I venture to guess that this is the sole documentation Miss Lyons has for her ambiguous "probably." There were a great many other persons present, both at Dumbarton Oaks and at San Francisco. There were representatives from scores of nations; the U.S. delegation included many important and prominent persons to whom no faintest stigma of disloyalty has ever attached. The Charter was debated under the scrutiny of newspapermen and political scientists from all over the world; it came out, to be frank, a fairly innocuous document hedged about with the restrictions and conditions placed upon it by the fear of both the United States and the Soviet Union that it might conceivably impinge upon their own national sovereignty. Yet Miss Lyons implies that it was somehow drawn up in secrecy by a man subsequently implicated in subversion, and that therefore the entire document is a conspiracy against the United States.

"These key UNESCO organizers, promoters and propagandists are not paid a salary, but every cent of their living and travel expenses are paid by the taxpayers while they are off on UNESCO business."

(p. 7) One wonders about the honesty of a person who uses this kind of loaded phraseology to reveal the fact that the people she is attacking serve without salary and are paid only their expenses when traveling for the organization. This is, of course, a common practice in both business and government, though it is not always possible to find men and women who will serve without salary. That their expenses are paid by the taxpayers is hardly surprising, since the commission of which they are a part was created by act of Congress.

"All national sovereignty means is our right, as American citizens, to rule and tax ourselves." (p. 7) *"Remember UNESCO's word for 'patriotism' is 'nationalism.'"* (p. 10ff) National sovereignty means a great deal more than "our right to rule and tax ourselves." No one has challenged America's right to do either. What national sovereignty means in our present context is our right to place our own interests above the interests of anyone and everyone else in the world if we choose to do so. It is our right to submit an international dispute to arbitration and then refuse to accept the arbitrator's decision if we don't like it. In other words, it is our right to behave on the international level as complete anarchists, a right which, as citizens and as communities within the nation, we have long since relinquished.

I doubt that many Americans would sanction a return to a form of national sovereignty on the personal level, with individuals carrying guns, shooting anyone with whom they had an argument, going to court or not as they chose,

and so on. The world has become too small, and armaments too dangerous, for such an attitude to be sanctioned on the part of nations, either. Because while Miss Lyons refers to "our" right to rule "ourselves," national sovereignty is not a one-way street. It is something that all the other nations claim, too, and if UNESCO seeks to weaken the idea of national sovereignty, it seeks to weaken it for Russia and China and a great many other countries as well as for the United States. Actually the United Nations represents an aspiration to broaden and enrich the idea of sovereignty as our forefathers did when they provided a federation or union in which states retained essential attributes of self-government and at the same time joined in building a greater and nobler political community.

Similarly with the equating of the words "patriotism" and "nationalism." "Patriotism" means essentially a love of one's country; "nationalism," in its current meaning, refers to a blind insistence that one's own country's interests are more important than the well-being of the rest of the world.

"Cited"

"On the present commission (is) Reinhold Niebuhr—cited 24 times." (p. 8) Since "cited" in these days may—and frequently does—mean simply that someone who might or might not know what he was talking about appeared before some committee and said he thought so—and-so was a Communist, this statement means nothing except as a highly regarded smear technique. Professor Reinhold Niebuhr is on the faculty of Union Theological Seminary, as you probably know.

He is highly regarded as one of the leading Christian theologians in this country today. As it happens, I do not go along with Niebuhr's theology and its implications, but to suggest that he is a Communist sympathizer is ludicrous. He is in fact an ardent anti-Communist who has sometimes been accused of laying the groundwork for the moral justification of war against Russia.

The Races of Mankind

"Their booklet titled 'The Races of Mankind' . . . was so loaded with Communist propaganda and implications of approval of the inter-marriage of races. . . ." (p. 9) Perhaps we come here to one of the real reasons for the violence of Miss Lyons' attack. I know "The Races of Mankind" well. I have recommended it widely, and through the Fellowship have sold a good many copies.

There is some reason to believe that one or both of the authors have done some fellow-traveling with the Communists. If they did, that is unfortunate. I would wish they had not done so, as I wish that no one would be taken in by the Communists' promises. Such affiliations on the part of a couple of people would suggest that we should examine their work with special care, perhaps; it does not mean automatically that their work is no good, or that it is subversive, or impregnated with Communist propaganda.

"The Races of Mankind" is a small pamphlet stating in popular style what anthropologists have learned about race. What they have learned, as all anthropologists and a great many other people know, is that there are differences between

ances but that these do not run very deep. They have learned that no race is superior to another in intellectual or artistic or scientific potentialities, and that there are no important differences in the ways their bodies and minds function.

I do not think any ranking anthropologist, however patriotic, has questioned the competence of Weltfish and Benedict as anthropologists. If, then, there are political overtones in the book, they must be in terms of what different political groups believe, or want to believe, about these anthropological facts. It is true that the Communists have made the equality of races and peoples an important part of their propaganda. They also assert that two plus two equals four. I am not disposed to argue with either of these conclusions simply because the Communists also hold it. My education in arithmetic leads me to the conviction that two plus two *do* make four, while my religious convictions as a Christian convinced me of the equality of all men long before I knew what the anthropologists had discovered.

The Disease of Prejudice

I suspect that Miss Lyons does not want to believe that black men, and brown and yellow men, can be as smart as she is. I suspect that she does not want to face a fact that the Red Cross finally admitted, that the blood of any member of the human race can be injected into the veins of any other member, given matching types and the absence of disease, without disaster. Apparently she does not want to admit that intermarriage is a personal affair with social im-

plications rather than the reverse. That is too bad for Miss Lyons, since it reveals her as governed by ignorance and prejudice rather than by knowledge and love, but it does not mean that the rest of us must be infected by her disease.

Kind of World We Live In

There are many other direct quotations on which I could comment, but this letter grows too long. Essentially, I think it comes down to an evaluation of the kind of world in which we live, and of the role we ought to play in it, both as individuals and as a nation. Miss Lyons, it would seem, sees a world in which Americans somehow have been chosen by God to be the recipients of all the good things of life, and in which other, inferior, peoples exist preeminently to serve and to envy the United States.

I do not see things this way. Religiously, as I have said, I believe in the equal rights of all men, and of our responsibility for our mutual well-being. If I did not believe that, I hope I should still be smart enough intellectually to be aware of the rising tide of dissatisfaction among the underprivileged peoples of the world to know that my own self-interest dictates a breakdown of these tired old superstitions that serve as barriers between us. Whites are a minority in this world. The peoples of Asia, the Near East and Africa, subsisting on the merest fraction of what we live on, are restless, determined to lift themselves out of their misery and poverty to a better life. We can help them, understanding their suffering and their aspirations, and make a world fit for our children to live

in. Or we can spurn them, trying to live the ingrown, psychopathic sort of existence that Miss Lyons and her colleagues envision, and see them turn to the Communists as we have seen them doing for the past ten years. In that case we can prepare for a war with atomic and hydrogen weapons that will wipe out everything we cherish, and leave us on a plane of equality in spite of ourselves—equality of misery or obliteration.

A Broad World Outlook

In other words, the kind of quotation that Miss Lyons includes as a horrible example of UNESCO work, on page 12, expresses exactly what I hope American young people can learn:

"In addition the geography teacher should never allow to go unchallenged statements from his pupils that reveal a supercilious feeling of national superiority. He should, on the other hand, take every opportunity to

point out the industry and resourcefulness of other countries, and to indicate the dependence of one country upon another, a fact which can be readily illustrated in geography.

"Where some undeniable element of superiority exists in one country over another, it can be shown in discussion that this ought to be a source of responsibility towards other, poorer countries, and not, as so often happens, a source of conflict.

"In these and other ways the teacher who has himself a broad world outlook will find many opportunities for influencing the minds of his pupils both in normal school lessons and in his personal contacts with them."

I would hope that you agree that the sign of both an educated and a moral man in these days is the breadth of understanding and common purpose he has with the problems and hopes of other men.

Sincerely, ALFRED HASSLER

Today the path of self-understanding which all the sages have taught was the way to inner peace, which the psychiatrists have discovered is the key to psychic health, does not end at the foot of the Boh tree nor at the analyst's couch. It winds through the battlefields, the propaganda services and the council-chambers of the world, it explores the group antagonisms which poison our individual minds, which fill us with nightmares of personal insecurity, it leads into the prison camps of race and caste and cultural prejudice in which we segregate ourselves from our brothers.

As I found for myself in Asia, the study of the causes of man's disunity becomes an adventure of the mind and a discipline of self-knowledge when it is used to discover the roots of disunity in ourselves, to lay bare the resistances, the hesitations, and the contradictions hidden beneath our own verbalizations of the ideal of human unity.

Edmond Taylor,
in *Richer By Asia*

ARMS

and the

CHRISTIAN

by Wilhelm Mensching

JESUS' most reliable fellow-worker whom he called "Rock," Peter, once took up arms. He wanted to defend the most precious of lives and believed he was acting in accordance with God's will. But Jesus forbade him. At that time Peter was not yet filled with the same spirit as Jesus. Afterwards Peter could never take up arms again or exhort others to do so. He had experienced Jesus' power to stand fast in the fight against evil and to pray for others. When he became a Bishop, Peter gave this unequivocal counsel to the Christians suffering danger and persecution: "Love as brethren . . . not rendering evil for evil or railing for railing; but contrariwise blessing. . . . If, when ye do well, and suffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God. For even hereunto were ye called: because Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example. . . . Who, when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he suffered, he threatened not; but committed

himself to him that judgeth righteously . . . by whose stripes ye are healed."

Jesus' cousins, James and John, proposed on one occasion to call down fire on a Samaritan village. They wanted to use a weapon similar to the one which is now dropped from bombers on non-belligerents. They took the great prophet Elijah as their authority. This dismayed Jesus. He reminded them of the spirit of which the people in the enemy village were heirs no less than they, and emphasized that he had come to save, not to destroy. James and John, although they were Jesus' cousins, followers and high apostles, had not recognized that their thoughts and impulses were wrong. Their great prophet Elijah had led them astray. Then they found how Jesus fought against evil without any compromising, shedding his own blood, but not a drop of anyone else's, neither that of his friends or of his enemies. After that they could never again take up arms or

encourage others to do so. They recognized the sin they had not recognized before, and were made clean from it. John wrote later of the blood of Jesus which cleanseth from sin, and of the perfect love which casteth out fear.

These are examples which show how disciples of Jesus were still able to take up arms, but how Jesus forbade them to do so, as their great prophets, Moses and Elijah, had not forbidden them, and how, by giving up his life, he filled them with light and power clearly to recognize resort to arms as a sin. Jesus did not turn away those of his followers who, like his forefathers and prophets and everyone else, wanted to take up arms; but he gave his blood so that they should be cleansed from sin. Then they carried on Jesus' fight, free from fear and filled with the love of God to all mankind, including enemies and evildoers.

Christians Go To War

In the course of the centuries, however, the number of Christians increased who had not experienced such a turning away from the methods of the world, of their forefathers and prophets. They bore arms, and even made it a law for their fellow-Christians to do so and, if these refused, they often laid the direct disgrace and punishment upon them, citing Bible passages, symbolic books and men of God like Elijah, in support of their actions. That was not Jesus' way.

But there always remained, even in the war between Hitler and his adversaries, many thousands of Christians who felt unable to take up arms. They knew that as disciples of Jesus they were called to save, not to destroy. As his dis-

ciples they were freed from the fear of enemies and even of death. They gladly helped even their enemies, at the risk of their lives, but they were unable to do them any harm or injury to body, property, honor or soul. It was God who prevented them, the gift of God in their hearts, their conscience, and their natural compassion in harmony with the spirit of Jesus.

"An Unbearable Thought"

Today there are many millions who, under the influence of governments and churches, took up arms in one or both of the world wars, but to whom a repetition of such sin and absurdity is an unbearable thought. More and more people are coming to recognize that the things they and their sons and daughters were forced to do in the war and might be forced to do again, are sins against God and man, against conscience, compassion and humanity. The resistance against that sort of thing has become so strong that more and more governments are ceasing to coerce into military service men who refuse on grounds of conscience. The German Evangelical Church also has publicly afforded its protection to such conscientious objectors. Other churches are moving in the same direction. A necessary reform is well on its way, a significant reconsideration (on the part of the Church) of the Christian attitude toward participation in war.

The great powers of the West and the East are agreed that they must arm against each other. On this side and on that inhuman practices are carried on which must be attacked in God's name. Even Christians, on this side and on that, are in danger of becoming

accustomed to the brutalities committed around them, of accepting them as inevitable and of comforting themselves more or less with the consideration that what the other side is doing is so much worse.

War only increases inhumanity. Even preparation for war, rearmament espionage and propaganda set in motion the same process of deterioration. The necessary planning and large sums of money which should be given to the urgent services which social justice demands are used for war prepara-

tion. The fear of spies and hostile propaganda causes nervousness, suspicion, and misrepresentations, and justifies the increasing limitation and suspension of civil liberties. We copy from one another methods of compulsion and the shelving of social duties. But it is war itself which really multiplies the inhumanity. The world in its helpless fear can see no way of escape; yet Jesus can show the way.

The theological truth is this: all human beings have been given a higher, as well as an animal, na-



Pastor Wilhelm Mensching

For thirty-two years a village pastor at Petzen, Germany, Mensching's name is practically a symbol of German pacifism. Early missionary activities in Africa and several

years' experience of forced internment in India, where he had opportunity to study Gandhian technique, inspired a concern for nonviolence and the betterment of relations between peoples and races. He published two books on the race problem: *The Fourth Continent* and *Colored and White*. Until it was disbanded in 1933, he served as Secretary of the German branch of the F.O.R.

George Houser summarizes Mensching's World War II activities as follows: "Here is a man who never said 'Heil Hitler!'; who harbored and fed a Russian soldier, an escapee from a prisoner of war camp, even while German soldiers were billeted in his home; who was under suspicion by the Nazis during the war constantly. . . ." After the war Mensching got to work developing a peace education center at Petzen. At first only two quonset huts obtained from the British military government, the plant of Freundschaftsheim, as the center is called, now has two permanent buildings, with a third under consideration. Each year young people from different countries, races, religions and political views come together at Freundschaftsheim for work, study and worship. They seek to equip themselves to resolve, in a living community of peace, those factors in themselves and in their society that make for embitterment and estrangement. Pastor Mensching continues his mission for peace, by directing Freundschaftsheim and by lecturing and writing extensively. A book, *Jesus in the Political Events of His Time*, will soon be published.

ture—as a heritage of the spirit of which they all are sons, something of God's spirit—and it is this which makes them human. Thus capitalists, Communists, militarists, pacifists and all other -ists, and the many who are perhaps not -ists of any kind, share one heritage and are brothers, our brothers. We cannot work against this fundamental truth without disaster. We must in all circumstances respect and establish this theological fact. What we have to do is to hold sacred that of God in ourselves and in all other men. Whatever happens, we must not let our consciences suffer harm, but rather let them be continually renewed by God. In that way the divine in others is strengthened too. Jesus made this clear. To him the enemy was not only his enemy, but also, and to a much greater degree, his brother, sharing his father's inheritance, who must be fortified. He acted in this spirit toward the lowest of outcasts, toward his betrayer and

even toward his murderers. He kept that of God in himself pure and sacred, renewed it constantly by communion with God, and thus awakened and strengthened in both the good and bad children of God that which made them human.

It is not always possible for piety to be either a curse or a blessing. In Jesus, and in men who are changed and moved by his spirit, it was and is continually the greatest blessing. But piety which avoids or does not experience fighting with the heroic weapons of Jesus, and which therefore takes up a lower kind of weapon, has, in its cruel crusades and other endless deeds of blood and violence, strengthened the sin, the ungodliness, the inhumanity, which it set out to conquer. Such Christianity becomes unworthy of belief and detrimental to mankind. Again we stand before the momentous decision. We must fight for God and man. What shall be the weapons of our warfare?

A British View

Pacifists have sometimes been blamed for deceiving the public and, by disseminating false hopes of peace, actually to have precipitated war. In this sense Sir Winston seems almost persuaded to be a pacifist. His comfortable conclusion, which is shared by so many in all lands, is that war has now become so terrible that it can never happen. Satan has been tamed and trained to cast out Satan. What more brilliant feat of statesmanship could be imagined! All the worst evil in the world organized to promote the world's salvation! It is as if the miracle of modern science had shown the nations how to consume their own sin, as factories may consume their own smoke, and those lofty moral standards which are assumed to lodge in the heart of men and nations (in the Western hemisphere at least) will be protected by the cruelest immortalities!

Reconciliation, December 1953

Church's Unique Message and Mission Stressed

Addressing itself to the question, "What should be the message and the mission of the Christian Church with regard to war and peace amid the strife and violence of our time?" the Conference on the Church and Peace, meeting early in December, drew more than 350 delegates to its sessions in Detroit.

John C. Bennett, of Union Theological Seminary in New York, gave the opening talk on "The Christian in the Contemporary World." He suggested six areas of possible cooperation between pacifists and non-pacifists: resist preventive war, emphasize the primacy of ideological and social elements in the struggle against communism, respect the dignity of other nations, stand for flexibility of policy rather than pre-determined positions, maintain our own freedoms, and nurture a concern for the ecumenical church.

André Trocmé, Traveling Secretary for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, shared the platform with Dr. Bennett on opening night. He upheld the primacy of the Church in its claim upon the Christian in the several "contemporary worlds" he outlined. "The Church has a special message for those inside any political system," he said in summary. "Where the people are subservient to ideologies, the

Church stands for the rights of man. Where the people are resigned, the Church preaches revolutionary action. Where a nation indulges in prosperity, it is called to repentance. Where national, racial, class or religious pride endangers peace, the Church offers civil disobedience to a false god."

Dr. O. Frederick Nolde, secretary of the Commission on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches, outlined the work of the churches in this field. Dr. George M. Gibson, of McCormick Seminary in Chicago, analyzed what he called the weaknesses and self-criticisms of neo-orthodoxy in its political impact. He decried the increasing reluctance to call any act or position Christian, and called upon the Church to proclaim a distinctly Christian word to the nations in terms of God's judgment and power.

In the message of the conference, the delegates declared: "Because the ecumenical awakening in this decade has brought most Christian groups into new realization of our allegiance to the Lordship of Christ, we know anew that enmity or war among people divides the Church itself, and breaks asunder the Body of Christ. Divisive nationalism has become treason to that high citizenship which we claim in the world Church of Christ."

Unique Press Service Is 20 Years Old

Worldover Press, pioneer agency of information on international affairs, celebrated its 20th anniversary last month over the dead words, so to speak, of news experts who years ago spoke of it as an "impossible venture." Founded in 1933 by Devere Allen, erstwhile editor of *The World Tomorrow*, first FOR national magazine, Worldover Press (or WP as it is known in the trade) now enjoys a solid reputation for disseminating world news dependably and without nationalistic bias.

Its service to editors is based on its testament of purpose, which reads:

"We frankly present world developments from the viewpoint of those who desire peace rather than war—which means, we believe, the vast majority of people in the U.S. and most foreign lands. We shall, nevertheless, make no substitutions of propaganda for facts, do no editor's thinking for him.

"Accuracy, balance, material often obtainable nowhere else—these will be our specialties. But more, the best we can: literary style, free from sloppy writing and from unnecessary complexities. And on the whole we shall seek less to serve the bigger metropolitan papers than those which need us more, and might not otherwise be in a position to secure this form of specialized reporting."

The program of Worldover Press, of which FELLOWSHIP is one beneficiary, now includes (1) regular releases to editors, (2) a newsletter for individual readers, and (3) special, more detailed articles to aid selected groups of publications in varying fields. Its editors read

more than 450 papers from all over the world, in several languages, to gain perspective and to discover leads that foreign correspondents can follow. It is estimated that each year WP information is read by many millions of people—people who are thus getting news that is not, as that offered through other channels still predominantly is, slanted toward war, misunderstanding, and self-righteous patriotism.

Ohio Peacemakers Bucking the Inquisitors

In their November Area meeting, Ohio Peacemakers determined upon a campaign of non-cooperation as the most effective means to combat the threat of loyalty and political opinion investigations. They have drawn up and are circulating the following declaration, with the intention of releasing to the press from time to time the names of the signatories:

"Desiring to preserve for myself and all others the inner integrity and sanctity of the human personality, I resolve to oppose all intrusion by the government or any unofficial group into this citadel of democracy. Regarding such opposition as a duty as well as a fundamental right, I will speak freely, associate as I see fit, publish and otherwise teach or advocate any ideas or political or economic changes which I deem advisable and oppose freely whatever I deem wrong in the action of my government. I shall, therefore, if summoned, refuse to appear before the Congressional Committee on un-American Activities or any similar official or unofficial body. I intend to offer total non-coopera-

on to such attempts at abridgement of liberty."

The Peacemakers' Ohio address R. 1, Box 312, Sharonville.

CO Prefers Army to Jail Sentence

Robert Hart, 22, has decided to join the Army rather than serve out the unusual sentence given him for refusing Army induction. The youth had been sentenced by Judge Joseph Sam Perry of Chicago to spend two days a week in jail for the next five years and to pay a lodging fee of \$2 for each of the 20 days of internment. This strange sentence was fixed so Hart could work five days a week to support his mother. His now superceded conscientious objection had been based, he claims, on Methodist Church doctrine.

Nearly three years after the filing of the application, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has informed the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors that contributions made to the work of this organization are not deductible for income tax purposes.

Forty-three Des Moines college students were polled by FOR-member Walter Gormly on their attitude toward conscientious objectors. The results: "While not necessarily taking that position myself, I believe there should be war objectors"—20; "I don't believe there should be war objectors, but I have no aversion to them and wouldn't mind having one for a close friend"—17; "War objectors should be imprisoned for resisting the draft"—4; "They should be shot"—1. One student registered as

a split decision, undecided between positions one and two.

Men currently in prison for refusing induction: Clifford Walter, Gene Sharp, Andrew Borisuk, Richard Blazej, Lester Packer, Don Rowland, Owen Swensen, Loy Imboden, Hubert Barnes, Glenn Peters, Robert McCorkle, Nehemiah Ames, Gerald Bullis, Monty Prothro, Vern Dawson, Vasyl Sereda, Philip Mulligan, Clarence Bryan, Ted Head, Edward Johnson, Ervie Daniels, Marvin Watkins, Harold Bohlman, Kenneth Owens, Emanuel Miller, Melvin Chupp, Fred Hildebrand, Gaetano Brancaleone, Glenn James, Robert Kent, Larry Atkins and Janney Wilson.

Syracuse U. Pioneers in Religious Journalism

Three FOR members constitute a faculty team that has been formed recently by the School of Journalism at Syracuse University to pioneer in a graduate religious journalism program. They are: Professor Roland Wolseley, recently returned from India where he set up that country's first university department of journalism; Professor Robert Root, Wolseley's replacement last year and a World-over Press Associate Editor; and Robert Laubach, teacher of a course in preparing materials for adults just learning to read, son of Frank Laubach, famed literacy authority.

The aim of the program is to train young people to work not only on church magazines and with church publicity boards, but also as part of literacy teams abroad—where the need for trained personnel is desperate.

Council Concludes Business in Two Days

The December meeting of the National Council was concluded in record time this year, so that staff members and others could set out for Detroit with a minimum of flurry. A brief run-down of the more important business transacted follows:

1. John Swomley's title will be Secretary.

2. John Oliver Nelson continues as Chairman of the Council. Charles Lawrence, Claud Nelson and Arthur Swift are vice-chairmen; Shirley Boden and Mrs. B. W. Hamilton are Treasurer and Assistant Treasurer, respectively. Re-elected to the Executive Committee: Corinne Bowers, Frank Keller, Lyle Tatum, William Tilenius, George Paine, Robert Weiskotten, Phillips Elliot, Forrest Ashbrook, Helen Baker, James Best, Robert Meyners and E. A. Schaal. Coopted into membership if they will serve: Stauffer Curry, Mrs. Howard Hannaford, Paul Hoon and Phillips Moulton.

3. The National Council believes that there is a need for textbook and study or discussion materials and asks that the staff and Literature Committee be asked to report not later than the May Council meeting proposals for implementation.

4. "A small, competent standing Committee on Personnel" was approved, that would make recommendations as to personnel for regional and national staff and would serve, if occasion arose, as a grievance body for FOR employees with problems of adjustment.

5. George Houser will go to Central Africa this summer (about which more in later issues).

6. The question of whether the

FOR office should be moved out of New York City was referred again to Executive Committee for discussion and action.

7. The 1954 FOR gross budget is the largest ever—\$180,000.

8. The Council clarified its position on three issues. Excerpts follow:

United Nations Statement—"The only sound basis on which the United Nations can operate is that of universality of membership. Other considerations should be subordinated to this principle, and every independent nation should be welcomed into membership. The fact that a nation is admitted to the U.N. should represent simply a recognition that whatever government is in *de facto* control is entitled to participate in a body which is intended on a world level to speak to and for the nations of the world."

Capital Punishment Statement—"A state which looks upon murder as a capital crime ought not itself to engage in a similar act of taking life. . . . The National Council . . . calls upon the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to ask all countries that have not outlawed capital punishment to take the necessary legal steps to do so."

Civil Liberties Statement—"In line with previous actions in the field of civil liberties, the National Council . . . declares its opposition to the principle of the Attorney General's (Subversive) List. In addition to the serious inadequacy of procedures for determining inclusion on the List, it is essentially an attempt to proscribe and hamper organizations on the ground of *political* expressions and activities rather than overt subversive acts to be adjudicated under our judicial system."

Excellent Advice

ahrenheit 451, by Ray Bradbury. Ballantine Books, 1953. 208 pp., \$2.50 (cloth), 35c (paperbound).

Ray Bradbury is well-known among devotees of "space stories." I find, to my shamefaced surprise, that he is also a superb writer, with an alert social consciousness and a penetrating insight into what is happening to us in these days. The short novel that gives this latest book of his its title displays all of his abilities to advantage.

It is the story of a fireman, in a way not too far in the future when firemen set fires instead of putting them out. (Specifically, they set fire to books, and the houses in which books have been hidden.) It is the story of a culture that has sunk to a dead level of mediocrity, where TV has attained its full and frightening stature, and where the state, operated by military men and know-nothings, has become supreme. But it is also the story of individuals who still seek freedom and peace, even though the search is fraught with peril.

The most revealing comment on the nature of the search—and on the author's own wisdom—is in the reply an old ex-professor makes to a now-converted fireman's plea for a foolproof way of arousing

the people. "Don't ask for guarantees," replies the old man. "And don't look to be saved by any one thing, person, machine, or library. Do your own bit of saving, and if you drown, at least die knowing you were headed for the shore."

It is excellent advice for these days.

—A. H.

A Good Introduction

What Present-day Theologians Are Thinking, by Daniel Day Williams. Harper and Bros., 1953. 158 pp., \$2.

The Associate Professor of Christian Theology at Chicago Theological Seminary, who in an earlier book (*God's Grace and Man's Hope*) presented a vigorous criticism of some of the extreme positions of Reinhold Niebuhr and others, has here given a clear, brief and remarkably comprehensive outline of the main currents of theological thinking in Europe and the United States. Ministers, students and others who may want an introductory survey or review in anticipation of the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches next August will find this little volume very useful and reliable.

The main divisions under which Williams groups his outline deal with the Bible and what is meant by Christian truth; Christian ethics and its teachings about how love may be applied to social problems; recent thinking about the nature and mission of Jesus Christ; and finally, the nature and foundation of the Church.

From time to time, as I read these chapters, I found myself unsatisfied, but concluded that my dissatisfaction had to do with what theologians are or are not saying these days, rather than with Williams' report about these matters. There is, for example, only one explicit reference to the problem of war and the Christian conscience. This is in a passage dealing with Roman Catholic theology. Williams notes that in the past Roman Catholic theology has dealt with the problem by means of the concept of the "just war."

Then he says: "But in technological warfare in which the very weapons often make impossible discrimination between combatants and noncombatants . . . the chivalrous formulas of the past become almost irrelevant." He observes further that "All Christian moral theory is in travail over this problem." But there is no further reference to this travail and perhaps rightly so, since, in the main, Christian theologians today are bypassing the problem rather than wrestling with it. No real attention was given to it, for example, at the Cleveland Conference on World Order under the auspices of the National Council of Churches in October 1953. It is to be earnestly hoped that Evanston will do better.

—A. J. M.

A Novel About India

House of Earth, by Dorothy Clarke Wilson. Westminster Press, 1952. 309 pp., \$3.50.

Dorothy Clarke Wilson, having won the Westminster Press fiction prize for *Prince of Egypt*, spent six months in India gathering material for this new book. She traveled widely to familiarize herself with conditions and to meet Indians. She has used her experiences in this story of the pull of love and humanity against inborn and inbred custom and caste, especially as these concern a Brahmin boy and Bill Sahib, a missionary.

The story is convincing, the characters real, incidents and atmosphere plausible. In the tensions at the time of Indian independence, when the blood of those of one faith was being shed by those of another, we see, among many other things, the evil forces which against the teachings of Gandhi, incited violence.

Though the tone and general atmosphere is Western, real respect for Gandhi is shown and, to the Westerner at least, this is a convincing and appealing story. For FELLOWSHIP members the picture of Christian brotherhood transcending color and caste and of a man laying down his life for his friends is very satisfying.

We miss, though, the perhaps new type of Indian, the Hindu, Moslem, Sikh, or Syncretist educator or other leader working selflessly for a better India. A Westerner, wife of a Christian minister, Mrs. Wilson has greater understanding of the true meaning of Christianity than of Hinduism, which she represents largely by age-old customs and superstitions.

—RUTH MOORE

LETTERS



Feeding the War Machine

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

No matter how well one knows that 90% of federal taxes goes for things related to war, he is always shocked when he reads of the gigantic amounts in billions these taxes provide for building the terror weapons of the future.

No matter how well one knows that the F.O.R. acts as agent for the U. S. Treasury in collecting income taxes from its employees' pay checks each week and paying them over, 90% for war, he is freshly shocked when he reads the F.O.R. budget each year and realizes the size of the pile which the F.O.R. collects and pays over. Last year the F.O.R. collected and paid over to the Treasury \$6,550.99. For the past ten years in which this has been going on, the total amount must be about \$65,000.

The past cannot be undone. But it is almost unbelievable that the F.O.R. will continue to feed the war machine in this fashion or at this rate. Will we have to say a year from today, "The F.O.R. has added \$6,000 more to the coffers of war"?

ERNEST R. BROMLEY
Sharonville, Ohio

[Correspondent Bromley's letter simplifies the problem to an extent unacceptable to the majority of the members of the staff and National Council. The matter of withholding taxes from employees' salaries, a large part of which do go for war, has been the subject of deep and prayerful concern. Entering into the

discussion are such considerations as the right of the government to levy taxes, which go also to non-war costs of government; the impossibility of making tax-refusal effective, except as a witness, since the government levies on the individual or organization's bank account, office equipment, etc., and gets the money anyhow; and the relative value of such a witness as contrasted with the ongoing work of the FOR, which might be seriously inhibited by such a stand. None of these make the decision to continue withholding an easy one, but they do define the problem as being somewhat more complicated than the Bromley letter indicates, a fact recognized by the membership a few years ago when a referendum on the subject revealed a majority in favor of withholding.—ED.]

A Plea for Tolerance

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

In order for the nonviolent movement to be successful, it must partake of the cultural environment, i.e., those religious, social, political and economic facets of a given community, state, or nation.

The height of tom-foolery in a pacifist philosophy is to think that pacifism is a "Sunday affair" or that it is a religion sufficient unto itself. Granted it may be a comfortable vacuum, but it is a vacuum nevertheless which renders the pacifist who holds this point of view ineffective on the social, political, and economic scene.

Instead of some "institutional" pacifists looking down upon others with an air of righteous indignation for their moderate use of tobacco and alcohol, they could better spend their time concerning themselves with meaningful societal issues. This superpuritanical point of view toward moderate users of tobacco and alcohol is totally unrelated to the furtherance and progress of nonviolent movements in the world today. Moreover, it has only served to discourage and alienate some who subscribe to our philosophy of nonviolence. Consequently, it is the duty of the leadership to discourage attacks made upon non-excessive users of tobacco and alcohol, rather than to promote, foster, or instigate such attacks.

JAMES C. GOODWIN
Berkeley, Calif.

From All Appearances . . .

the new monthly magazine coming out of London under the title **THE AFRICAN AND COLONIAL WORLD** is the kind of periodical we can endorse heartily. It attempts to present and analyze not only the political factors that operate in this revolutionary world, but cultural and trade factors as well. Editorially, "enlightenment" seems to be both policy and goal. A year's subscription (about \$2) can be entered by writing to 12 Kennington Park Road, London S.E. 11.

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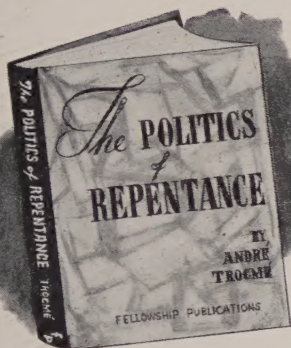
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